1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre- 789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the wo- 754 man concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed.

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house.

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two.

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position.

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver."

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr.

gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melé·ʔmi, milí·gimelé·ʔmi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
šémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš háki milí·giʔáŋawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2262a. Run to water	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

NWA 844 846

NWA [784]

NWA [784]

NWA 845

NWA 847

NWA [348]

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